THE EARLY EDUCATION OF MILAREPA*

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In Tibetan historical literature, conflicting accounts are often placed side by side with no attempt to harmonize them. At best, the author will cast a vote for the one he believes to have greater authority. This has advantages and disadvantages for the modern interpreter, who often can do little better. The problem is how to make a way through the differing traditions to come to a probable conclusion. The particular problem I set out to tackle is the historical identity of the pre-Marpa teachers of Milarepa. Most of them will remain unknown outside the Milarepa corpus and, as it turns out, only in two cases has it been possible to reach any kind of solution. The pursuit leads through the border areas of Ancient (Rnying-ma) and Reintroduced (Gsar-ma) Buddhism; of Buddhism (Chos) and Bon. While we are tracking our phantom snail-trail through some of the darker swamps of Tibetan history, it may be possible to stop from time to time to examine some interesting sidelights, points of departure for other unexplored countries. If quicksands and snakepits abound, the more intrepid investigators will be all the more eager to get on with it.

THE READING TEACHER

Milarepa was aged thirty-eight when he met his guru Marpa.[1] According to his own words, he had "about ten Lamas" before then.[2] The first was undoubtedly his reading teacher Klu-brgyad-pa.[3] He appears to have been an ordinary village priest. His name signifies that he specialized in the propitiation of the Eight Great Nāga.[4] Milarepa's own grandfather was an exorcist versed in the rites of the Eight Great Nāga, and it was an exorcistic exploit of his great-grandfather that explains the family name Mila.[5] Padma Dkar-po is the only source which gives us a more informative account of Klu-brgyad-pa under the name Lo-tsā-ba Glan-chung or Glan-lo.[6] He tells us that Milarepa received from him, in addition to reading and writing, instruction in Vajrapāṇi according to the usage of Karmavajra.[7] Many years later, Milarepa would hand on these same teachings to his own disciple Rechungpa.[8] About Glan-chung, I can only say that Glan is a well known clan *(gdung-rus)* and Rechungpa is said to have had a teacher called

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Glan-chung Dar-ma-tshul-khrims.[9] Whoever this person may have been, Milarepa was soon to leave him for much more dangerous studies.

THE MAGIC TEACHER

The story of Milarepa's involvement with black magic is well known. In short, Milarepa's immediate family was deprived of its inheritance and mistreated by his aunt and uncle. His mother persuaded him to seek vengeance through the black arts. So, Milarepa left his home in Lower Gung-thang (near the northern border of central Nepal) for the faraway valley of Yarlung and a hamlet called Skyor-po, where he met a teacher of the Gnyags clan named G.yung-ston Khro-rgyal.[10] Khro-rgyal wasn't at all eager to teach real coercive magic (*mthu* or *drag-sngags*) but he was impressed by Milarepa's devotion. Milarepa finally said to him, "I'm not just a cute kid *(gces-phrug)* learning magic for a pastime. If I go back home without learning magic, my aging mother will kill herself!" After verifying Milarepa's story, Khro-rgyal said, "I have a magical method and coercive spell called the *Red and Black Faced Za (Gza'-gdong-dmar-nag).* However, I gave it to Doctor (Lha-rje) Snubs-chung of Phu-lung in Snubs. In return, he gave me a recipe for hailmaking. We have an agreement that if anyone comes to me for coercive magic, I am to refer them to him."[11] Later, Milarepa was to return to Khro-rgyal; but it is the second magic teacher who shows the greatest potential for historical investigation. To begin with, I will restrict myself to what can be learned about him in the Milarepa corpus, the *Blue Annals* and the *Chos-'byung* of Padma Dkar-po.

Available biographies of Milarepa give different forms for the name of the magic teacher. In the *Blue Annals,* he is called Doctor Hūṃ-chung.[12] By Padma Dkar-po he is called Doctor Ye-shes-gzungs of Gtsang-rong.[13] Most often, he is called Doctor Gnubs-chung,[14] but frequently he is said to be Gnubs Khu-lung-pa or even Gnubs Khu-lung-pa Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho.[15] He is a well known figure in Nyingma history. In order to reach a more positive identification of this teacher, however, it will be necessary to resort to a study of lineages. Gnubs Khu-lung-pa belonged to an important lineage for the oral tradition *(bka'-ma)* of the Nyingma which transmitted the *Guhyagarbha*[16] and other teachings. The following reconstruction of information supplied by Padma Dkar-po (p. 387) and the *Blue Annals* (pp. 108-109) will be important for this discussion, since it supplies a rough chronology and many of the persons involved will reappear later on. [See **Figure 1.**]

While Padma Dkar-po and the *Blue Annals* differ on the lineages passing through the two sons of Gnubs Khu-lung-pa, both agree that the magic teacher was a spiritual (and, in other sources, physical) descendent of Gnubs Khu-lung-pa. [See **Figure 2.**]

How can these conflicting reports on the identity of the magic teacher be reconciled? Only by forming the hypothesis that the Doctor Gnubs-chung of the biographies was someone other than Gnubs Khu-lung-pa. First of all, most members of the *Guhyagarbha* transmission are occasionally given the

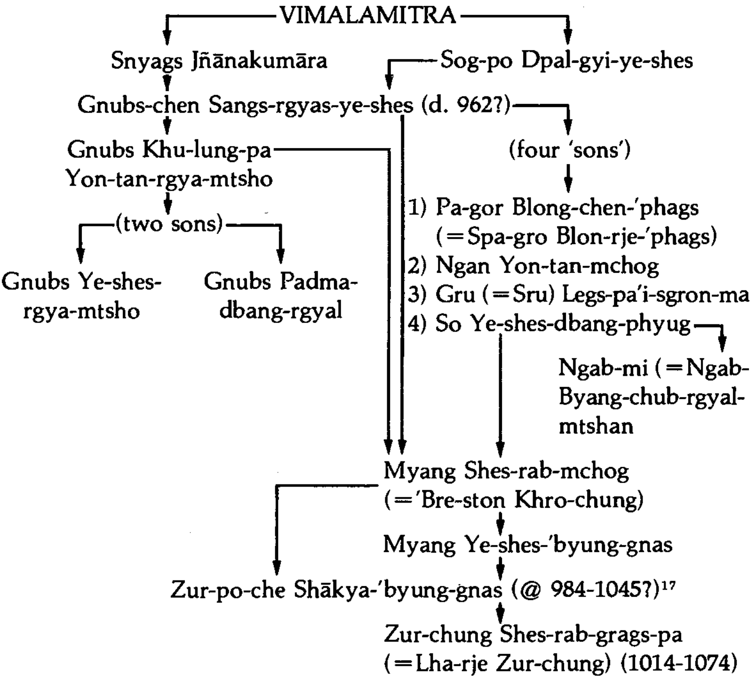


Figure 1—Gūhyagarbha *Lineage*

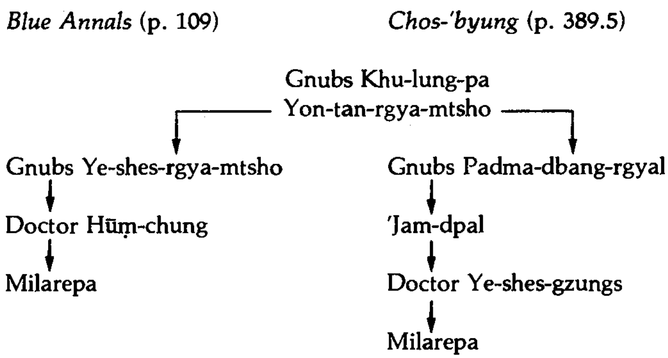


Figure 2

title of Doctor (Lha-rje).[18] This doesn't help narrow our choices. That he is called Gnubs-*chung* only lends credence to the idea that it really was Gnubs Khu-lung-pa since he was the most important successor of Gnubs-*chen* and, generally speaking, the 'lesser' master of a tradition follows on the heels of the 'greater'.[19] If it is true that Gnubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes died in 962 A. D., it is improbable that his disciple could have been a contemporary of Milarepa (1040-1123). Also, if the *Blue Annals* is correct when it says that Milarepa was age thirty-eight at the time of his first meeting with Marpa, then the date of the magic teacher's death could not be before 1078 A. D.

As I was looking at the preface of the twenty-sixth volume of the *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod*, I noticed with some excitement a work called the *Fiery Razor of Magical Redeflection (Yang-bzlog Me'i Spu-gri)*[20] by none other than our Doctor Gnubs-chung. The text is all magical 'shop talk' but it is prefaced by a story *(lo-rgyus)* which I would like to paraphrase. The story begins with a lineage: 1) Gtsug-lag-dpal-dge, 2) Padmasaṃbhava, 3) Vasudhāra, a Nepalese, and 4) Gnubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes. Gnubs-chen hid the text in the upper temple of Mkho-mthing in Lho-brag. Later, Doctor Gnubs-chung took it from its place of concealment. Suddenly, the story shifts to first person narration by one Mtshur-ston Rin-chen-rdo-rje. He describes a magical process by which he sent a curse. The curse was deflected back on him by a man of Dolpo called Mes-ston. At a loss for a means to retaliate, he was referred to Doctor Gnubs-chung of Gtsang-rong who granted him the complete precepts of *Magical Redeflection*. Together with his elder sons Mtshur-ston 'Jam-dpal, age eighteen, and Mtshur-ston Dbang-nge, age fifteen, he performed the incantations. Mes-ston coughed up blood and died.

This story is valuable because it not only connects the magic teacher of Milarepa with an obviously *black* magic story outside the Milarepa corpus, it also implicates Mtshur-ston Dbang-nge, one of the four chief disciples of Marpa about whom little is known.[21]

This discovery led me to investigate the Yamāntaka lineages of different cycles with positive results. In a lengthy collection of texts connected with the *Fiery Razor of Magical Redeflection* is a lineage prayer which names Doctor Gnubs-chung as a successor of the Terton Rgya Zhang-khrom.[22] This Zhang-khrom can be placed in the eleventh century. He was born in Gtsang-rong in a place called Dum-bu-lung. He was considered a reembodiment of Gnubs-chen, whose Yamāntaka cycles he recovered from Phung-po Ri-bo-che,[23] Samye, etc. Kong-sprul has this to say about Zhang-khrom:

> This great Terton appears to have come before Jetsun Milarepa by about one generation. Among his descendents came many who achieved the coercive spells. To this day, they continue in the area of Gtsang-rong.[24]

There is a reference to him in the words of the father of Guru Chos-dbang. Referring to the dubious ethical worth of previous Tertons, he says,

> Rgya Zhang-khrom destroyed the welfare of beings because he had propagated evil spells.[25]

It was from Zhang-khrom that Doctor Gnubs-chung first received the *Fiery Razor.*[26] Later, he found an identical test at Mkho-mthing in Lho-brag.[27] Later still, he transmitted it to Mtshur-ston Rin-chen-rdo-rje as mentioned. In the biographical notice of Kong-sprul we find:

> Doctor Gnubs-chung was born in Khu-lung of Gtsang-rong as a son of Gnubs Ye-shes-rgya-mtsho.[28] He was a Mantradhāra known for the very great potency of his coercive spells. He withdrew the cycles of the *Fiery Razor of Magical Redeflection* from concealment in Lho-brag Mkho-mthing. He gave them to Zhang-khrom and they were gradually transmitted. They remain to this day a tool of the Vajradhāras who protect the Ancient Doctrine. Relying chiefly on these cycles, 'Bri-gung Chos-kyi-grags-pa,[29] under the personal guidance of Yamāntaka, spread the teaching which is known as the *Redeflection* of the 'Bri School. I received the complete transmission of this school.[30]

By piecing together the preceding evidence, we can be fairly sure that the Gnubs-chung of the Nyingma belonged to the eleventh century, somewhat older than Milarepa. Also, in the introduction to a version of the story paraphrased above, the *Fiery Razor* and the *Red and Black Faced Za* seem to be given as alternative names for the same teaching.[31] Another source lists the *Red and Black Faced Za* as an "extremely secret" auxiliary to the *Fiery Razor.*[32]

This conclusion, however, is not final. All the Nyingma sources utilized to this point have been connected with the 'rediscovered' *(gter-ma)* tradition. Another picture emerges from the 'oral tradition' of the Nyingma, the *bka'-ma.* In a short work called the *Story of the Lamas Who Transmitted the Red Yamāntaka,*[33] which I tentatively take to belong to the fifteenth century,[34] we find a lineage for the magic teacher which matches perfectly the one given by Padma Dkar-po above. The teaching passed from father to son in the following manner: 1) Gnubs Khu-lung-pa, 2) Padma-dbang-rgyal, 3) 'Jam-dpal, and 4) Ye-shes-gzungs. Upon reaching the latter, the author tells us,

> This is the person also known as Doctor Gnubs-chung under whom Milarepa studied the coercive spells. When Milarepa reached age twenty-nine, Rma-ban Chos-'bar[35] was twenty-five. Since Rma-ban was a 'heart disciple' of Ye-shes-gzungs, the chronology agrees.[36]

Now we know why the author of the *Blue Annals* and Padma Dkar-po disagree on the lineage for Doctor Gnubs-chung. It seems they were following traditions already established by the Nyingma. I am still at a loss to har-

monize the two traditions. In any case, most of the conclusions reached so far are unaffected by this new source.

'BLACK MAGIC' IN CONTEXT

There are yet other unresolved dilemmas. Why, for example, do the biographies confuse the sectarian affiliations of the two magic teachers? I can only say that I think the distinction between Buddhist *(chos-pa)* and Bonpo in early post-imperial times a dubious one. The most basic determinant of a Buddhist community, the monkhood, had been successfully abolished. There is little evidence that the Bodhisattva vow, the ethical life-source of Mahāyāna Buddhism (including Mahāyāna Bon!), had significantly survived Glang-dar-ma. On the contrary, it seems that black magic was common and some favored a literal interpretation of "liberation and union" as a license for murder and rape.[37] One gang of eighteen robbers called the Ar-tsho Bande, like the Thuggee of India, roamed about murdering people with a self-righteous piety.[38] The custom of extending the tongue as a greeting for high officials is said to have originated in those dark ages when officials formed the chief targets for magical curses. A dark spot on the tongue was supposed to betray black magicians.[39] It is no wonder that the kings of Western Tibet regarded the reintroduction of normative Buddhism as an imperative.[40] This is the picture as painted by the Tibetan histories. No doubt there was some real basis behind their characterization of those times. That Tibet was in a state of disquiet, both socially and spiritually, is absolutely certain.

I should have already clarified my use of the term 'black magic' since, as such, it doesn't appear in the Tibetan language, although the expression 'black side' *(nag-phyogs)* is used to refer to 'divinities' or spirits inimical to Buddhism. In my own lexicon, 'black magic' refers to the subversion of what might otherwise be 'spiritual *techniques*' to the end of harming others. The substance of meaning is no different from 'evil spells' (*ngan-sngags*, above). In short, it means making curses and casting spells (*mthu gtong-ba, dmod-pa, thun-brab-pa,* etc.). Of course, there are gradations of blackness according to the seriousness of the magically committed crime. That the magic practiced by Milarepa and his teachers was *black* (in this sense) is indicated by the fact that so many works connected with the *Fiery Razor* are classified in the *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* under Drag-po Mngon-spyod, 'Coercive Witchcraft'.[41] From the title of one of these works, it is possible to surmise that the objectives of this magical system are fourfold: to protect, deflect, kill and oppress.[42]

To bring this discussion even closer to our context, the horrible images connected with Za, the 'deity' of eclipse, will be seen by most in an entirely negative light (see note 31). It seems plausible that Za was a native draconian spirit of the Tibetans later homologized to the Indian Rāhu, just as the

Tibetan Klu spirits were homologized to the Nāga. What will be more difficult to explain is the fact that Za, while greatly feared, is mainly made to fill the positive role of a Protector (Dharmapāla).[43] This points to an attitude toward the spiritual life which has countless parallels elsewhere, but was nowhere so developed as in Tibetan religion. This attitude, which one could almost call kind of spiritual machismo *(vīrya)*, leads aspirants to leave the slow grades of ascent to face the crags and sheer cliffs of the Direct Path *(nye-lam)* with all its difficulties and dangers.[44] In this light, it should not be any cause for surprise that the most complete sources for the magical teachings of Rgya Zhang-khrom and Doctor Gnubs-chung, with their lineages and associated texts, are found in the *Records of Received Teachings* of two of Tibet's greatest saints, Gter-bdag-gling-pa (1646-1714 A.D.) and the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682).[45] What would be a stumbling block to one person can become the stepping stone of another. Strength of compassion (Bodhicitta) precludes the usual motivations like greed, envy, hatred, etc. that lie behind magical curses. Tantricism in general has a long tradition of turning the vilest of poisons into nectar. The danger, of course, is that through lack of Bodhicitta and Skillful Means, the poison may remain poison. Tantricism subverts evil to the cause of good where conventional wisdom counsels avoidance. The same destructive magic which proved the downfall of Milarepa could later serve to eclipse negative forces as, for instance, the negative emotions that drive people to indulge in the black arts in the first place.

THE HAILMAKING TEACHER

If it seems we've already fallen into the aforementioned swamp of complications, in what follows there is good chance of getting swallowed. But we will proceed cautiously and return, like Milarepa did, to the hail-teacher, G.yung-ston Khro-rgyal. In order to reach him, it will be necessary to start with the history of a particular rediscovery of a cache of Bonpo scriptures and treatises called the Yer-rdzong-ma.[46]

The story goes that three Buddhists from Gtsang province went to Samye to look for hidden treasures *(gter-ma)*. While Samye was the most common site of such rediscoveries, they didn't find anything and headed back emptyhanded for their homes. On their way, they happened upon a cache of Bonpo books at a fort in Yer (hence the name Yer-rdzong-ma). Not being of the Bon persuasion, they gave the books to a Bonpo called, in some Bonpo sources, Gnyan-ston Lha-'bar[47] *or* Lung-ston 'Od-'bar[48] and, in other Bonpo and one Buddhist source, Gnyags-ston Lha-'bar of 'Bru-tshang.[49] Incidentally, the Buddhist source adds that the three Tertons came to grief on account of their rediscovery. This was no doubt due to the ire of the three Bonpo "Treasure Protectors." One got leprosy. One died. One went insane. By comparing different accounts, the early Yer-rdzong-ma transmission takes approximately the course shown in **Figure 3.**

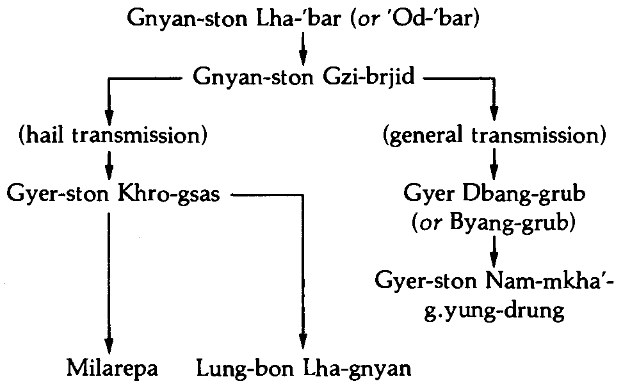


Figure 3

The name for the hailteacher, Gyer-ston Khro-gsas, may very well be an equivalent of G.yung-ston Khro-rgyal. It contains two words from the Zhang-zhung language, Gyer and Gsas. The first means 'chant' or 'chanter' (*gyer-pa*), but it may also mean 'Bonpo teacher' and G.yung-drung Ston-pa may mean 'Bonpo teacher' as well. The meaning of Gsas[50] is vaguely 'royalty' or 'divinity' and both ideas may be expressed by the Tibetan word Rgyal (as in *Rgyal-po* or *Rgyal-ba*).

Biographical information for members of the Yer-rdzong-ma lineage seems scarce, but we do have a separate biography for Lung-bon Lha-gnyan.[51] From it we learn that his father, Lung-ston 'Od-'bar (!), died when he was eleven years old. At ages fourteen through sixteen, he studied Bonpo tantras under a teacher "G.yer-pa." In the following years he got married and had two sons. At age twenty-seven, he felt an aversion for the vicious circle and abandoned his family for a life of religion. By putting this information together with another source,[52] we may conclude that he practiced hailmaking before age twenty-seven and probably while he was studying under "G.yer-pa" (whom I take to be G.yer-ston Khro-gsas). If this is so, and if it is true that he learned hailmaking together with Milarepa,[53] then the date given for his birth (1088 A.D.)[54] can hardly be correct. This would place the date of the hailmaking episode in about 1104 A.D., several years after Marpa's death. In the Milarepa biographies, the hailmaking accomplice is an unnamed "strong servant"[55] of the hailmaker. As more Bonpo sources become available, it may be possible to straighten all this out.

THE DZOGCHEN TEACHER

After the hailmaking episode, Milarepa returned to stay with G.yung-ston for some time. Later, G.yung-ston and, according to come, Gnubs-chung, repented of their lives of magical crime and urged Milarepa to follow the pure Dharma while he was still young. G.yung-ston sent him to

Rong-ston (*or* 'Bre-ston) Lha-dga', a specialist in the Dzogchen teachings of the Nyingma (*or* Bonpo?). Milarepa found him in Upper Nyang at a place called Ri-snang. His customary place of residence was in Rong. Rong and Nyang are branches of the river system which includes the trading centre of Gyantse in Tsang province. The 'Bre family is known to have been centered in Tsang.[56]

Rather than going into a long comparison of different stories about the Dzogchen teacher, I will merely give a close paraphrase of the story as told by the Third Karmapa Hierarch, Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284-1339 A.D.), which has only recently been made available. It should be no surprise that he has more to say on the subject than the Mad Saint of Tsang (1452-1507 A.D.). The Third Karmapa spearheaded the acceptance of Nying-ma doctrines by the Kargyudpa (he was a kind of Terton himself!) while the Mad Saint was more interested in reviving the earliest esoteric systems of the Kargyudpa. The story begins as the Bon hailteacher gives Milarepa a donkey loaded with food and a bolt of cloth as gifts for the Dzogchen teacher.

> "There is a Lama in Nyang-stod named Rong-ston Lha-dga'. He is a Siddha who teaches the Holy Dharma called the Great Perfection. You must go to him."
>
> So, Milarepa went to meet the Lama. After he had presented the donkey and its load, he said, "I am a sinful man of La-stod. I ask that you tie to my heart a teaching."
>
> The Lama Rong-ston replied, "It is good that you have come. I have unerring precepts called Great Perfection, teachings which purify and awaken even the greatest of sinners in a forceful way. It is victorious in the roots, the sprout, the trunk and leaves. Those who learn it in the morning are purified and awakened in the morning. Those who learn it in the evening are purified and awakened in the evening.
>
> Part is gold and part is turquoise.
> The fowler's net is followed by the slingshot.
> The towering clouds are scattered by a whirlwind.
> The dark room is lighted with a butterlamp.
> The encompassing Gnosis *(jñāna)* produces itself.
> The Buddha is encountered within.
>
> This teaching I have leads to liberation by merely hearing it. Those blessed with sharp faculties have no need to meditate."
>
> Milarepa thought to himself, "While the black magic and hail-making each took many days of preparation, this teaching is certainly an easy one, to judge from his examples. I am so lucky to encounter something like this where meditation isn't even necessary." So, he asked for Great Perfection teachings and practiced them with determination, not moving at all morning or night. The Lama saw him in his meditation and became fearful, "One like this who has so much determination. . . if obstacles arise, there is nothing I can do about it. But then he *does* have faith."
>
> One day, with nothing in mind, he summoned him. To one side of the room the Lama seated himself on a cushion Milarepa had put

down for him. Then, Milarepa seated himself in front. "Look around inside the skull with the closed mouth and tell me what you see."

Milarepa looked but couldn't see anything.

"We two will have a talk. I have worked for several days now. This Great Perfection teaching of mine is lofty as the sky. How is it that the meditative experiences have not taken hold? The several dark methods for practice may be attractive, but even I myself have no cause for confidence. I will apply myself to the recitation of the Lady Angry Brow (Bhṛkuṭī). Still, if you are to gain practical experience in the Dharma, a Lama with a lineage, blessing and spiritual realization seems to be essential. This is a teaching for the sinless. Your sins are frightfully great.

"In the region of Lho-brag is a Lord named Marpa, a disciple of the Indian Lamas Naropa and Maitripa. His precepts of the Spiritus *(prāṇa)*, its Channels *(nāḍi)*, and Thoughtdrop *(bindu)* put Buddhahood in the palm of the hand. These are methods patterned after the body which purify and awaken the Mind *(citta)*. These are the Six Doctrines of Naropa, the essence of all Tantras. His special teachings on 'Mixed Transference' *(bsre-'pho)* lead to the attainment of the ordinary and supreme Siddhi. His learning is full of stories of saints and their songs. His limbs are full of dancing. His mind is filled with contemplative absorption. The Clear Light constantly appears to him both in and out of meditation. I also have thought of going to him. . ."[57]

THE OTHER TEACHERS

Near the beginning of the paper, I said there were about ten teachers before Marpa. So far, there have only been four. Who are the missing teachers? Some names are supplied in a song of Milarepa to his disciple Zhi-ba-'od. This is the only reference to these extra teachers found in the biographies and there are only two new names: Dgyes-ston and Rngog-mi.[58] The same song is quoted in the *Blue Annals* (p. 432) but the two names are Ngar-ston and Ngab-mi. Padma Dkar-po also has the song and gives Sgyer-ston and Ngab-mi.[59] A Ngab-mi Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan is known from the *Gūhyagarbha* lineage.[60] Otherwise I can find no probable identities for them.

Padma Dkar-po gives the most material on the missing teachers, placing them between the magic teachers and Lha-dga':

> "There was a Sgyer-ston Dbang-nge in Rgyang-khar of Upper Myang. Milarepa asked to go to him for Rdzogs-chen teachings. He went and received all of his precepts. Sgyer-ston sent him to Khor-re where there was one learned in the *Sgyu-'phrul, Yang-dag* and *Bdud-rtsi* (Nyingma cycles) named Ngab-mi Byang-chub-rgyal-po. He, in turn, sent Milarepa to Do in Yar-'brog and to the feet of a Ma-mo expert named Mar-pa 'Byung-nge. In this way, he studied under nine Lamas. Then Mar-pa 'Byung-nge entrusted him to 'Dre-ston Lha-dga' of Gtsang-rong, under whom he studied Rdzogs-chen. He stayed with each Lama about one or two years, altogether around fifteen years."[61]

Since I have been unable to come up with any clear-cut identities for any of these teachers, I won't plague my readers with dubious possibilities.[62]

If this paper has been inconclusive and debatable on many points, I hope that it will at least show the continuing vitality of those Lamas who have, in retrospect, been called Ancient Ones (Nyingma) and Bonpo; teachers of great spiritual magnitude among whom there were, nevertheless, some abusers of the powers invested in them. I have focused far too much attention on the abusers. Above all, I hope that the Milarepa who was a man among men will cast a slightly sharper image in the minds of those who love Tibetan literature and history. At least I may have given some indication of the territory that needs to be traversed on the way to that end.

As I reflect on the place of Milarepa in the context of Tibetan history, I begin to see him more and more as an expression, even an ideal embodiment, of the aspirations of the Tibetan people in the time of Buddhism's rekindling from the fading embers of the post-imperial times when "Tibet went to pieces"[63] (the image of eclipse), a rekindling which culminated in a blaze of religious and cultural activity. I like to imagine that a part of Milarepa's great appeal for Tibetans today lies in an unspoken awareness that his struggle away from the self-serving technology of the black arts to a spirituality unequivocally white was not a mere personal struggle.



Za

NOTES

1. Roerich, *Blue Annals* (p. 433).
2. Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 481.3, ff.); Roerich, *Blue Annals* (p. 432); Rang-byung-rdo-rje, *Mdzod-nag-ma* (p. 70.4, ff.).
3. Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 417, 427); Lhalungpa, *Life of Milarepa* (p. 21).
4. These Eight Nāga Kings are listed in Das, *Dictionary* (p. 45). They are all of Indian origin, the Tibetan names all direct translations of the Sanskrit. See especially Pott, *Yoga and Yantra* (p. 91, ff.).
5. Lhalungpa, *Life of Milarepa* (pp. 13-14). Milarepa's clan, the Khyung clan, was one of the most significant clans for the Bonpo. See Karmay, *Treasury* (p. 13) and *Three Sources* (p. 430.2).
6. Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (pp. 474.1, 491.4).
7. For this school, see Roerich, *Blue Annals* (p. 105).
8. Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 500.3).
9. *Rwa-lung Dkar-brgyud Gser-'phreng* (vol. 1, p. 213.2). Some of his translations are included in the Kanjur.
10. The Gnyags (=Snyags) clan is a very ancient and prestigious one connected with the area of Yar-lung (Tucci, *Preliminary Report*, p. 79). The title G.yung-ston is problematic. G.yung could be a place or family name. G.yung-ston could be a contraction of G.yung-drung Ston-pa. Khro-rgyal is a usual epithet of Yamāntaka (and some other wrathful deities of both Chos and Bon). This fact will gain in significance later on. Khro-rgyal also appears as the name of some early Bonpo teachers (*Snyan-rgyud Nam-mkha' 'Phrul-mdzod*, p. 575.5; Karmay, *Treasury*, pp. 133, 148).
11. Rang-byung-rdo-rje, *Mdzod-nag-ma* (p. 17.3 ff.).
12. Roerich, *Blue Annals* (p. 109).
13. Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (pp. 389.5, 474.5, 476.1).
14. In *Bka'-brgyud Gser-'phreng Chen-mo* (vol. I, p. 207.2 ff.) he is an unnamed Bonpo of Rta-nag. In Rgyal-thang-pa, *Dkar-brgyud Gser-'phreng* (p. 212.5), he is a Bonpo called Snyegs Khro-rgyal. These are eccentric sources. He is called Doctor Gnubs-chung in: *Bde-mchog Mkha'-'gro Snyan-brgyud* (vol. I, p. 99.1); Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 428, 429, 432); Gtsang-smyon, *Mi-la Mgur-'bum* (folio 70r.6). In most cases where he is called Gnubs-chung, he is said to be in Gtsang-rong and Khu-lung is not mentioned. Gtsang-rong I take to be the valley of the Rong-chu, a south tributary of the Brahmaputra in Gtsang province. When a religious designation is given for one or the other of the two magic teachers, it is usually Bonpo (but see below). In Rang-byung-rdo-rje, *Mdzod-nag-ma*, they are often referred to as *Ban-bon Gnyis*. The *Ban* is short for *bande*, which is derived from *vandya*, a semi-colloquial Indian term for 'Buddhist monk'. The Tibetan word degraded in meaning to refer to itinerant Buddhist laymen and sometimes even seems to be an equivalent of Sngags-pa, 'conjuror'. The *bon* should be short for Bonpo. Rang-byung-rdo-rje is the only biographer who clearly identifies the black magic teacher as a

Buddhist and the hailmaking teacher as a Bonpo. See below.
15. *Bde-mchog Mkha'-'gro Snyan-brgyud* (vol. I, pp. 98.5, 99.1); Lhalungpa, *Life of Milarepa* (p. 26); Rang-byung-rdo-rje, *Mdzod-nag-ma* (vol. I, p. 17.6).
16. For references to this Old Tantra, see: Ruegg, *Life of Bu-ston* (p. 68); Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 103-4, 107-8, 534, 965); Karmay, *Rdzogs-chen* (p. 148).
17. About this Lama and his successor, it is often said, "Zur-po-che established the root of the teaching of the Old Translations during the Later Spread *(phyi-dar)*. Zur-chung-pa spread the branches." Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che, *Rnying-ma Chos-'byung* (p. 304.4). It is also said that there was only *one* teacher between Gnubs-chen and Zur-po-che (see the lineage tree). Zur-po-che is accused of appropriating a Bon teaching called the *Thugs-kyi Me-long* (Karmay, *Treasury*, p. 156). This may refer to a Tantra by the same name in *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (vol. X, pp. 581-609).
18. Including Gnubs Khu-lung-pa. The use of Lha-rje as a title of religious teachers is also common with the Bonpo.
19. This may explain the confusion in the biographies.
20. In the *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* (vol. XXVI, p. 417, ff.). Other almost identical versions of the story are found in the same volume (p. 518.5) and in volume LXXXIII (p. 517). I have not even tried to read the accompanying magical texts.
21. Dbang-nge is short for Dbang-gi-rdo-rje. He is sometimes called Dol-gyi Mtshur-ston (as in Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, p. 456.1). He was already proficient in magic when he came to Marpa and, significantly, his father was a magician. See especially Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 467.4, ff.) and Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 414-5).
22. *'Jam-dpal Gshin-rje'i Gshed Yang-bzlog...* (vol. II, p. 68.5, ff.). His full name was Dum-pa (after his birthplace) Rgya (the family name) Zhang-khrom Rdo-rje-'od-'bar.
23. Phung-po Ri-bo-che was on the south bank of the Brahmaputra river east of Gser-mdog-can. There was a Rnying-ma Monastery there. See: Padma 'Phrin-las, *Bka'-ma Mdo Dbang-gi Bla-ma...* (p. 166.2); Roerich, *Blue Annals* (p. 150); Ferrari, *Mkhyen-brtse's Guide* (p. 162); *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* (vol. XXVI, p. 69.4). Kong-sprul lists the Yamāntaka cycles rediscovered by Rgya Zhang-khrom as: 1) *'Jam-dpal Tshe-bdag Nag-po Lcags-'dra,* 2) *Lcags-sdig,* 3) *Kha-thun,* 4) *Yang-bzlog,* 5) *'Char-kha,* 6) *King-kang,* and 7) *Khro-chu* (*Rin-chen Gter-mdzod*, vol. I, p. 366.6). Compare the very valuable English preface of *'Jam-dpal Gshin-rje Gshed Khro-chu...* (vol. I). Zhang-khrom is mentioned in Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 389.2).
24. *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* (vol. I, p. 367.2, ff.).
25. Dargyay, *Rise of Esoteric Buddhism* (p. 110). The Tibetan text reads: Rgya Zhang-khrom-gyis ngan-sngags sngon-la spel-bas / 'gro don gya-rdugs /
26. In the following I base myself on: *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* (vol. I, pp. 487

and vol. XXVI, pp. 517-8); *'Jam-dpal Gshin-rje'i Gshed Yang-bzlog*... (vol. III, pp. 22-3).
27. There was a Mkho-mthing Lha-khang in Lho-brag (Das, p. 151). It was an ancient temple built in order to press down the left elbow of a mythic she-demon (Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, p. 318.1).
28. Note the position of this Gnubs Ye-shes-rgya-mtsho in the *Guhyagarbha* lineage. This statement substantiates the *Blue Annals* account, but doesn't exclude that of Padma Dkar-po. See below.
29. ='Bri-gung Rig-'dzin, born in 1595. He was the 21st abbot of 'Bri-gung and a Terton.
30. *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* (vol. I, p. 487.4 ff.).
31. *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* (vol. I, p. 487.4 ff.). One may only speculate that the Yamāntaka cycle known as *Lcags-sdig* (note 23 above) is involved. *Lcags-sdig* may be translated 'Iron Scorpion' and it was a huge scorpion that precipitated the killing of 35 persons attending the wedding party of Milarepa's cousin (Lhalungpa. p. 26). We learn from the biography of Gnubs-chen (Padma 'Phrin-las, *Bka'-ma Mdo Dbang-gi Bla-ma*..., p. 173.5) that he got a coercive spell ('evil spell' according to Karma Mi-'gyur-dbang-rgyal, *Gter-bton Brgya-rtsa*, p. 162.2) called *Spu-gri Reg-chod* from the Nepali Vasudhāra with the intention of magically killing the emperor Glang-dar-ma. On his return to Tibet, he found that the deed had been done. So, having no use for the spell, he hid it. Elsewhere (Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che, *Rnying-ma Chos-'byung*, p. 297.2), Gnubs-chen is said to have displayed his magical powers to Glang-dar-ma by making a black iron scorpion, big as nine yaks stacked up, appear on his fingertips.

As for the *Red and Black Faced Za*, Gza' means 'planet' and, in a more specific sense, Rāhu. The colors red and black are often associated with Yamāntaka and his attendants. One finds the expressions Gshin-rje-gshed Dmar-nag and King-kang Dmar-nag quite frequently. I cannot explain the *Gru-gu Dmar-nag* teaching granted to Gnubs Khu-lung-pa (Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, p. 388.3) except to say that Gru-gu (which is a frequent spelling for Dru-gu, "Turk"), is a 'thread-ball' (Nebesky, *Oracles and Demons*, pp. 18, 270) and black and red threads are said to have some magical application (Jaeschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 422).

It seems possible that the following explanation of the name as given by Professor Norbu is the right one. The *Gza'* stands for Rāhu. The *Gdong-dmar* here stands for Gdong-dmar-ma. The *Nag* stands for Nag-mo (=Kali). For these, see the index to Nebesky, *Oracles and Demons*. None of the three seem especially connected with Yamāntaka cycles (which Nebesky mostly ignores). The *Gza'-gdong-dmar-nag* is mentioned as a Phur-pa cycle in Sog-bzlog-pa, *Collected Writings* (vol. I, pp. 134.3, 144.6). It may be significant that a form of Gza' appears as a messenger of Yama in a grimoire attributed to Gnubs-chen (*Zla-gsang Be'u-bum*, p. 231).

It is a Bonpo source which gives what could be an explanation of the name.

In a long list of the rediscoveries of Zhang-khrom (here called Dum Rgya Zhang-phram), most of them known from Buddhist sources (note 23), are these three teachings: 1) the Magical Shovel which Tears Things Down from the Top, 2) the Crowbar which Demolishes from the Foundation, 3) the Eight Precepts for Directing the Planetary (ecliptic) Hook (? Gza' Gdang Gtad Man-ngag Brgyad). Experienced readers of Tibetan will have no trouble condensing the last-mentioned name to Gza'-gdang Man-ngag. If we remember that we are dealing with the literary outcroppings of an oral tradition, it is not difficult to relate this to *Gza'-gdong-dmar-nag.* See also Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, *Thob-yig* (vol. III, pp. 81-2).

Those interested in pursuing the subject of Rāhu as a protective deity should begin with his 'biography' in the *Bstan-srung Rgya-mtsho'i Rnam-thar* of Bzhad-pa'i Rdo-rje (p. 340.2, ff.) and the index to Nebesky, *Oracles and Demons.* In general, Rāhu is a causer of eclipses *(nyi zla gza' 'dzin)* and eclipses have definite connotations, in world literature, of "all hell breaking loose." The connection with epilepsy (in a loose sense) is interesting. Epilepsy may be expressed in Tibetan as the 'shadow of Rāhu' *(gza' grib),* the 'Rāhu disease' *(gza' nad),* 'increased blood in the brain disease' *(klad khrag rgyas nad),* or 'sky/space derangement' *(gnam skyon).* European parallels are not hard to find and the connection of eclipses with changes in the political order, pestilences, possession, seizures and black magic goes as far back as recorded history, no doubt further.

Finally, an astronomical textbook provides what is certainly the most concrete and defensible explanation. It is a well-known fact that the moon's path alternates north and south of the ecliptic in what appears to be a wavy line. When the moon approaches the ecliptic from the south, it is called the Ascending or North Node and when it approaches from the north, it is called the Descending or South Node. Western tradition also calls these respectively the Head and Tail of the Dragon. In Indian astronomy, the Head and Tail are called Rāhu and Ketu. In a Tibetan astronomy book (Mkhyen-rab Nor-bu, *Rtsis Gzhi'i Man-ngag Rigs-ldan Snying-thing,* p. 43.2) the Tail (Mjug) is said to be light red coloured. The Head (Gdong) is dark red *(dmar nag).* Therefore, rather than *Red and Black Faced Za,* we should translate *Dark Red Head of Eclipse.* The association of colors with the various types and degrees of eclipses is very thoroughly explained by Petri, *Colours of Lunar Eclipses According to Indian Tradition.* It is interesting that he derives the name Rāhu from the verbal root *rabh,* 'to grasp or sieze'. This would explain why the Tibetans translated both Rāhu and the word for planet (*graha,* 'siezing, grasping') by the same word *gza'.* Tibetans often use names like *Gza'-chen* or *Gza'-rgod* when they want to refer unambiguously to Rāhu.

32. Gter-bdag-gling-pa, *Gsan-yig* (p. 257.1).

33. "Gshin-rje Dmar-po'i Bla-ma Brgyud-pa'i Lo-rgyus," by Rngog Bsod-nams-shes-rab, found in *Bka'-ma* (vol. VI, pp. 3-19). This text has much material on the early members of the *Gūhyagarbha* lineage not found else-

where. For a similar Yamāntaka lineage, see *Bka'-ma* (vol. V, p. 509.4, especially).
34. I base this on the following: 1) The author puts twelve generations between himself and Ye-shes-gzungs. 2) The author's teacher is called Kun-dga'-bkra-shis. The only person I find by this name is the teacher of a Stag-lung abbot (who lived 1359-1424—*Blue Annals*, p. 641) who visited China in 1413 (Dhongthog, *Important Events*, p. 124).
35. This person (b. 1044) is also known as Rma Lo-tsā-ba Dge-ba'i Blo-gros. See *Blue Annals* (pp. 219-20, 405, 857); Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 419.2).
36. *Bka'-ma* (vol. VI, p. 13.5).
37. Tibetans trace the intellectual background for this perverse tantricism to two Indians who appeared in Tibet during the interval following the suppression of Buddhism by Glang-dar-ma. They were called the Red Ācārya (A-tsa-ra Dmar-po) and the Blue-skirt Pundit (Paṇḍi-ta Sham-thabs Sngon-po-can). In order to gain money and honor in the villages, they spread a vulgarized version of 'liberation and union' *(sbyor sgrol)* and many Tibetans followed them. It was a revulsion against these Tibetan followers that prompted the Later Spread of Buddhism. See Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che, *Rnying-ma Chos-'byung* (p. 771.1, ff.); Sog-bzlog-pa, *Collected Works* (vol. I, p. 463.4, ff.).

It is evident that what most early Nyingma (and Bonpo) teachers intended by the term *sbyor-sgrol* was something akin to *'pho-ba: joining* with the spirit of a deceased being in order to *liberate* it from an unfortunate karmic destiny. Nebesky, *Oracles and Demons* (p. 492) makes a connection between the Red Ācārya and Marpa which I have not been able to substantiate.
38. For the Ar-tsho Bande, see: Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 696-697); Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 348.5); Zla-ba-seng-ge, *Grub-chen O-rgyan-pa'i Rnam-thar* (p. 7.3, ff.); Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* (pp. 71, 152).
39. See, for example, the stories in Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che, *Rnying-ma Chos-'byung* (p. 168.3 ff.) where the Blue-skirt Pundit is connected with a Phur-ba cycle. The following quote is from the same section (p. 169.3, ff.):

> "The Geshe Rwa Lo-tsā-ba waxed great in wealth and influence. The many great Lamas and officials *(bla dpon)* of Tibet had no choice but to bow to him. It was known that those who wouldn't would be 'liberated' by the coercive spells of Yamāntaka.
>
> "Then Dum-pa Rgya Zhang-khrom uncovered a clay milk cannister full of Yamāntaka cycles. After removing about half of the *Tshe-bdag Sdig-pa Snying-'dzings,* he went to Rwa Lo-tsā-ba to extend his own Yamāntaka cycles and made up Indian originals and translations [NOTE: a "statement of Guru Chos-dbang" according to Rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po, *Chos-'byung Bstan-pa'i Sgron-me,* p. 147.5]. Likewise, from the many treasure caches of Bum-thang, he uncovered profound precepts of Jambhala, Guhyapati; as well as coercive magic,

hailmaking and maledictions *(mthu ser gtad gsum)*.

"Many came to swift ends through the Yamāntaka cycles of the New Translations. Thirteen bodhisattvas including Dar-ma-mdo-sde, the son of Marpa; thirteen who were, like himself, translators, including Gnyan Lo-tsā-ba were 'liberated' by his (Rwa Lo-tsā-ba's) skill in spells."

One comment: This Gnyan Lo-tsā-ba accompanied Rwa Lo-tsā-ba to India and took part in the religious council of 1076 A.D. His full name was Gnyan Lo-tsā-ba Dar-ma-grags (Ferrari, p. 105). The father of Rechungpa, who died when the latter was in his eighth year (circa 1092 A.D.) was coincidentally (?) named Gnyan Dar-ma-grags (Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung*, pp. 499-500).

40. For 'black tongues', see also Shakabpa, *Tibet* (p. 53). I want to mollify this 'too black' interpretation of the Tibetan dark ages a little. It was a 'dark' age precisely because we are pretty much in the dark about its historical and especially religious developments. My own impressions will sound heretical to many, both Tibetologists and Tibetan, but my contention (which finds some support in Snellgrove, *Nine Ways*, pp. 15-16) is that Indian ideas had already been adapted in Western Tibet from Shaivite and Buddhist peoples further to the West *before* the official introduction of Buddhism in the seventh century. These currents coalesced, over the course of time, with Bon which is itself a selfconsciously foreign religion from the West with a marked tendency (like Chos) for syncretism and/or assimilation. Upon the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, the newly and rather superficially (in numbers) introduced Buddhism became indistinguishable in the minds of ordinary believers from the already buddhistic Bon. Mutual and, for the most part, unconscious assimilation resulted in the amazing doctrinal similarities of the later Bon and Nyingma schools. The word 'plagiarism' should be avoided like the plague in this context. It unjustly undermines the spiritual integrity of the religious peoples concerned. *If* some so-far unidentified Bonpo appropriated the Prajñāpāramitā literature, it was probably because of similar tendencies already in Bon. I am personally very happy if he did. Hopefully the other religions of the world will follow suit. Bon and Chos both mean Dharma and therefore 'Buddhism'. It is time to stop identifying Bon with the 'primitive animism' of Tibet and face the facts. Almost every criticism against Bon could equally be levelled against Chos. There are, as yet, no final answers to these questions.

41. Drag-po Mngon-spyod (*Rin-chen Gter-mdzod*, vols. LXXXIII & LXXXIV). Mngon-spyod means 'cruel or violent action' (according to Tibetan-Tibetan dictionaries) but may stand for the Sanskrit word it translates, *abhicāra*, which definitely refers to the use of spells for evil purposes and therefore black magic or witchcraft.

42. *Rin-chen Gter-mdzod* (vol XXXIII, p. 479, etc.). The ethical, philosophical and even legal dilemmas involved in magical violence require treat-

ment by a specialist in magical criminology. Crimes both magical and mundane were punishable under the Tibetan legal system, and Buddhist teachings, emphasizing motivation, would hardly condone any such acts performed out of selfishness or attachment. So much is clear. The causes and motives of physical violence and crime are no different than the causes and motives of magical crime and violence. Only the medium of action differentiates them, and, according to Buddhist ideas, the weight of the resulting karma.

43. Consult Combe, *A Tibetan on Tibet* (pp. 107, 151-3). Iconographic representations of Gza' may be found in Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (p. 1079); Beyer, *Cult of Tārā* (p. 51); Pott, *Art of Tibet* (pp. 234-235, plate 28, lower left hand corner); Olschak, *Mystic Art* (p. 104). For a primitive (or degenerated?) vision of Gza', see Rock, *Nāga Cult* (vol. I, p. 88). I hope that someone more qualified for cross cultural studies will investigate what I believe is a connection between the Tibetan iconography of Rāhu and ancient Middle Eastern conceptions. The Indian representations (as in the Navagraha) bear little resemblance to their Tibetan counterparts.

I base what follows entirely on material found in Hartner, *The Pseudoplanetary Nodes of the Moon's Orbit in Hindu and Islamic Iconographies.* In Persian, Jawzahr stood for both the Head and the Tail of the eclipse. Could this be the source of the Tibetan word Gza'? Probably not. Later on, al-Jawzahr was used for the Head and the word al-Nawbahr was used for the Tail. The word al-Nawbahr means 'ninth part' and is frequently used in astronomical texts for the nine parts of a zodiacal sign. Could this explain why Gza' has nine heads? On a twelfth century bridge over the Tigris there are reliefs of the planets together with the constellations in which they have their 'exaltation' (place of maximum astrological influence). The 'planet' with its exaltation in Sagittarius is called al-Jawzahr and Sagittarius is pictured as a centaur with a bow and arrow. Could this explain why Gza' has a bow and arrow? A picture dated 1200 B.C. shows Sagittarius as a winged centaur archer with a scorpion tail. A scorpion is often pictured with Sagittarius (Scorpio *is* the neighboring zodiacal sign). Could this explain the 'scorpion connection'? Sagittarius sometimes has a head at the end of his tail which stands for the 'head' of the eclipse. Does this explain the Makara banner, which is, after all, a head on a stick? Thus every aspect of the iconography of Gza' has a possible explanation with the exception of the raven's head. I am sure that this too will find its reason.

After all I've said, I should like to add contradiction to confusion and say that Gza' does have one truly positive aspect. According to Mkhyen-rab-nor-bu (*Rtsis-kyi Man-ngag*, p. 44), the *external* Gza' swallows the sun and moon while the *internal* Gza' is the Central Vein *(rtsa dbu-ma)* which swallows the solar and lunar veins *(ro-ma* and *rkyang-ma)*. The swallowing in this context refers to the overcoming of conventional dualities, the *unio mystica.* Gampopa, when he was practising meditation under

Milarepa, had a vision of the sun and moon swallowed by Rāhu. This was the deciding sign of his spiritual achievement and he soon left Milarepa to meditate in solitude (Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. 456). The recent 'Universalist' *(ris-med)* saint Rtogs-ldan Shākya-shrī (d. 1919) had the same vision. See Kah-thog Si-tu, *Grub-dbang Shākya-shrī'i Rnam-thar Me-tog Phreng-ba* (pp. 204.6-205.1) where it is stated that this vision accompanied the entrance of the solar and lunar veins into the Central Vein. See also Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras* (p. 151, ff.). The ninth chapter of the *Vaiḍūrya Dkar-po* has similar statements and also retells the traditional Indian story of how Rāhu stole the nectar of the gods.

44. A common proverb is, "The poison that nourishes the peacock brings ruin to all others."[a] Also, Tilopa's statements (loosely), "What is medicine to the gradualist is the instantanealist's poison. The medicine of the instantanealist becomes poison to the gradualist."[b] Note: *Nye-lam* (Short Path) may be expressed as *Myur-lam* (Quick Path). These ideas are not meant to rationalize libertinism or willfulness. In fact, it is my own belief that they are a direct development of the 'ascetic theology' of monastic traditions where *pride* is the ultimate component of the sinful nature. I refer readers to the fifth century Latin father St. Gregory, his comments on *compunctio* in particular. There are no easy answers.

45. Gter-bdag-gling-pa, *Gsan-yig* (pp. 246-69); Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, *Thob-yig* (vol. III, pp. 1-98).

46. Sources for Yer-rdzong-ma: *Three Sources* (pp. 316.2, 366.3, 382.1); Karmay, *Treasury* (pp. 152-3); Dpal-ldan-tshul-khrims, *G.yung-drung Bon-gyi Bstan-'byung* (vol. II, pp. 181-3); *Sources* (p. 746.6).

47. Dpal-ldan-tshul-khrims, *G.yung-drung Bon-gyi Bstan-'byung* (vol. II, p. 182).

48. Karmay, *Treasury* (p. 152). I disagree with Karmay's translation on only one point. Other sources make it clear that Lung-ston 'Od-'bar and Gnyan-ston Gzi-brjid are two different persons. It is interesting that Karmay's text provides a name for the hailmaking text behind Milarepa's practice. It is there called *Thog Smad Dgu 'Grol* (p. 153, n. 1). The Fifth Dalai Lama names one of the scrolls of the *Gnubs Family Heirlooms (Gnubs-kyi Gong-khug)*, the *Thundering Snowstorm (Thog-gi Bu-yug)* as the Hail Teaching transmitted to Milarepa. This would make it one of the rediscoveries of Rgya Zhang-khrom. See Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, *Thob-yig* (vol. III, p. 83.5, ff.).

49. Gnyag-ston Lha-'bar in *Three Sources* (p. 366.3) and *Sources* (p. 746.6). Note that the hailteacher of the Milarepa corpus is almost always a member of the Gnyags clan. For the Buddhist source, see Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary* (vol. III, pp. 311-2).

As a side note, it is interesting that at least one of the rediscoveries at Yer-rdzong was transmitted in Buddhist circles and reached one named 'Dar-phyar Ru-pa Rin-chen-bzang-po whose ritual dagger was preserved until modern times at Sera Monastery. Most of the cycles connected with 'Dar-phyar deal with Gza' and Rāhu *(Ra-hu*, see *Three Sources*, p. 382). My re-

searches lead me toward the conclusion that the cycle of teachings thus transmitted is a rare example of an ultimately Bonpo teaching which was appropriated, finally, by the Gelukpa. My defence is beyond the bounds of a footnote and is certainly beyong the bounds of certainty.

50. The Bonpo preserve this word in compounds like Dpon-gsas and Gsas-mkhar. Gsas-mkhar is the 'divine palace' of the Bonpo, a functional equivalent of the mandala used by other Buddhists (Sangs-rgyas-pa). It will not be by chance that the final tower built by Milarepa in the famous story, which remains standing today, was called Sras- (*or* Gsas-)mkhar Dgu-thog. The tower building episode has been plausibly explained as a political move by Marpa (Stein, p. 150), but the name and the appearance of the tower lead me to wonder if it weren't associated with similar towers used as 'observatories' by weathermakers (as well as for defense). This suspicion puts the motives of Marpa under a slightly different light. This is no more than a suggestion. The Mad Saint and others explain the word Sras-mkhar as meaning 'Fort of the Son' because Marpa wanted it built for his son Darma-mdo-sde. But the homonym Gsas-mkhar occurs frequently, and it will be no accident that the tower has nine stories *(dgu-thog)*. The name of the tower bears a suspicious similarity to the name of the hailmaking teaching (note 48). No definite conclusions can be drawn from this, but Tibetanists will agree that, if my intuitions are correct, Marpa had a very *cutting* sense of humor.

51. *Sources* (pp. 276-86).

52. Karmay, *Treasury* (p. 113).

53. Karmay, *Treasury* (p. 152).

54. Karmay, *Treasury* (p. 152, n. 4).

55. Lhalungpa, *Life of Milarepa* (p. 26); Rang-byung-rdo-rje, *Mdzod-nag-ma* (vol. I, p. 18.3). For 'Bangs Stob-chen see *Mdzod-nag-ma* (vol. I, pp. 24.1, 25.3).

56. See Tucci, *Preliminary Report* (p. 80).

57. The story of Lha-dga' is found in Rang-byung-rdo-rje, *Mdzod-nag-ma* (vol. I, p. 30.4, ff.). At first I thought that the *Mdzod-nag-ma* version of the story was unique. However, some of the same narrative elements are present in the work of Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1475-1527), *Miscellaneous Writings* (pp. 44, ff.) and also in the Milarepa biography by the Second Red Hat Karmapa (1350-1405).

58. Gtsang-smyon, *Mi-la Mgur-'bum* (folio 70r.4, ff.).

59. Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 481.3).

60. See above for his position in the *Guhyagarbha* lineage. He was a disciple of Khug-pa Lha-btsas. See Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 109, 364-5, 432). For the Dgyer clan see *Blue Annals* (p. 890).

61. Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (p. 478.3).

62. Except in a footnote. The Sgyer-ston Dbang-ge could be the Gyer Dbang-grub of the Yer-rdzong-ma transmission, and therefore a *Bonpo* Rdzogs-chen teacher (see his position in the lineage tree above).
The Mar-pa 'Byung-nge could be Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug.

This Mar-pa *from Do* (in the Yamdok area) was at the head of a specific Cakrasaṃvara lineage and a disciple of the famous Nyingma Lama Rong-zom-pa. Since he was born when Marpa (the teacher of Milarepa) was 31 and lived to the age of 95, he must have lived circa 1012-1106 A.D. Their identity cannot be definitely established on the basis of their common family name, era and locale, but I find no contrary evidence. See Padma Dkar-po, *Chos-'byung* (pp. 408.6, ff., 457.1); Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 383, ff., etc.).

63. Karmay, *Treasury* (p. 104).

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a) དུག་འདི་རྨ་བྱའི་ཟས་ཡིན་གཞན་རྣམས་འཕུང་བར་བྱེད།།

b) རིམ་གྱིས་པའི་སྨན་ཆེན་འདི།། གཅིག་ཅར་བའི་དུག་ཆེན་ཡིན།།

གཅིག་ཅར་བ་ཡི་སྨན་ཆེན་དེ།། རིམ་གྱིས་པ་ཡི་དུག་ཏུ་འགྱུར།།